

DESULTORY REFLECTIONS  
ON THE  
POLITICAL ASPECTS  
*OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS*  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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PART II.

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"And I looked, and behold a pale Horse: and his name that sat  
on him was Death, and Hell followed with him."

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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

UNITED STATES

POLITICAL ASPECTS

OF POLITICAL MATTERS



AMERICA

UNITED STATES

PRINTED

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BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

AND THE BUREAU OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

WASHINGTON

1891

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MANUSCRIPT BY THE BUREAU

OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

1891

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**I**T is the curse of the Age in which our Lot hath been cast, that not only men in general think less of those concerns which belong to their permanent tranquillity, than of the carking cares of gain : but, that a very large portion of society think not of them at all.

HENCE it arises, that the public concerns are swayed by characters and by circumstances, grovelling and insignificant ; that the most abject classes of society, give law to their masters ; and that a progressive decline, marks, in painful traces, the funereal progress of our political career. We seem to have abandoned ourselves to the lethargy of the Sloth, and to have crept up the Tree of Apathy, where every murmur of every

breeze excites a narrow and chilling dread  
 left our repose be for a moment annoyed.  
 Our fears, our alarms, are all the emotions  
 of an abject cowardice, impelled by strong  
 circumstance to blink at danger, and then  
 sinking into the former state of sluggishness  
 'till again roused by new excitements, fruit-  
 less of all useful effect as the former. One  
 call to action succeeds another in ineffectual  
 round, for the last leaves us where we were  
 found by the first.

FROM visionary dreams, from fantastic  
 prognostications and golden hopes, we were  
 roused by the phrenzy of the French Revo-  
 lutionists, through the instrumentality of  
 their Agent, Genet. A miracle, the forbear-  
 ance of Robespierre, extricated us most un-  
 fortunately from a dilemma, which it was  
 hoped would terminate in a declaration of  
 war on the part of that extraordinary mon-  
 ster. But the whim of Robespierre, and  
 our ill stars conjoined, cut us off from a con-  
 tingency so devoutly to be wished : a con-  
 tingency which must inevitably have pre-



cluded all those unhappy calamities which have since been brought upon the country. But, this danger evaded, we slept again, assumed the wreath of Meconium, and abandoned ourselves in such confidence to repose, as if security and thoughtlessness were the only attributes with which we were endowed, the only characteristics of our natures.

THE conceptions of illustrious men, of the nature of this extraordinary crisis, presented an almost infinite variety. Perhaps, at this period, when from the long-past extinction of all passions connected with the point of time, there is the better chance for temperate judgment; it may be concluded, that the fever of liberty and equality raged too hotly in the veins of the people to admit the only measure which, in the eye of wisdom, could have been deemed expedient, or adequate to the exigencies of that pregnant crisis: it may be concluded, that the murder of the Monarch, with all its attendant circumstances of horror, at a time when

Illuminism, and the invasions of barbarians,\* had not steeled our sinews to the emotions of humanity, perhaps alone enabled the Administration of that day to carry into effect, even the Proclamation of Neutrality. Carried into effect, indeed, it never was; but it was borne, it was suffered to be promulged, with however great murmur, with however bitter execrations. Influenced by these considerations, which, it seems probable, an impartial posterity will recognize as unequivocal facts, this Act will justly be regarded as one of the most luminous points in the character of its great Author.

FROM the torpor which ensued upon the turbulence and conspiracies of Genet, we were again goaded into momentary "sensitivity" by new turbulences and new conspiracies, which being overcome, like the former, by our singularly good or ill fortune, were eventually succeeded by actual hosti-

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\* So the Romans denominated *all Foreigners*.

lities and a declaration of war. A declaration of war against *the Government*, by the Minister at our Court, and his Administration at home, and by the actual commencement of unequivocal hostilities upon *the people*, under the orders of the latter.

AFTER two years' hostilities, waged with remorseless persecution and cruelty, after innumerable flagellations of our defenceless people, and numerous murders, after the loss of a thousand valuable merchantmen, and the extinction of that *Character*, under the auspices of which alone we could have acted with effect, and after the Government had kneeled again and again, in the dirt, to lick the dust at the feet of low-bred upstarts, the people rose, and demanded war. A new system was put in force, and how wonderful, and how glorious were its effects, until our Evil Genius administered a new potion of Mandragora, lulled the very soul of the country to sleep, and sunk every energy into a state of inexorable somnolency.

As we have slept, and idly dreamed of peace, and repose and security, and Republican millenarianism, new perils have sprung up from the fertile hot-bed of faction; and watered by the genial dews of demagogy, and cherished by the benignant sun of Philosophism, have taken deep root, to bring forth fruit abundantly.

As we have slept, we have been impassively borne along to the verge of a crisis, on the turn of which hangs no less a point than the fate of the whole community: and we are arrived nearly to the decision, without even a random effort to stay the plague which impends.

As we have slept, amidst the delusions of commissioners, assurances, negotiations, and words and sounds and schemes, without meaning, and without other effect than to prolong our torpidity, the machinations of the servants of the enemy, have advanced to a violent probability of success, in their long contemplated project of obtaining pos-



session of the Government of the country. A catastrophe at even the possibility of which, who is so infatuated as not to tremble?

BUT the success of Faction, in forcing down its Candidate upon the Public, is, as I promise myself hereafter to make apparent, but an insignificant means to a vast end.

THE universal end of Jacobinism, is the overthrow of whatever good exists. With one consent, its disciples are, and have been, and ever will be, ready to exclaim,—Whatever is, is WRONG.\* They are the footpads and the highwaymen of society, with whose existence, law and order and system are altogether incompatible; the scorpions, and adders of mankind, whose mortal venom “holds such enmity with blood of man, that swift as quicksilver it courses through the natural gates and alleys of the body, and with a sudden vigour, it doth posset and

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\* Vide Pursuits of Literature.

curd, like eager droppings into milk, the thin and wholesome blood." Such is the general character of Jacobinism: Its special attributes and tendencies, vary with times, localities, and temperaments. The Jacobinism, or Anti-Fœderalism, or True Americanism, or (according to the last distinction which it has assumed) the *Republicanism* of America, took its origin at the establishment of the present Constitution of the United States, improperly denominated Fœderal.

THE Anti-Fœderalists (the undoubted Jacobins of that day and of this) declared the Government contemplated by their political opponents, to be monstrous\* and impracticable, and advocated a form of simple confederation in its stead.

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\* See the Independent Gazetteer, and the other Anti-Fœderal newspapers of that day, passim.

THIS faction misrepresented in toto, the nature and form of the contemplated Institution; since the Constitution of the United States possesses no one feature of a Fœderal Government. On the contrary, it was the misery which the people had encountered under their Fœderal Government, which induced the abolition of that form and establishment of the present.

THE Constitution of the United States, in its *original form*, (I mean, as it was eventually adopted) contains in no instance any acknowledgment of the *supremacy*, of the local Governments. They are therein repeatedly and expressly recognized as fiefs of the general supremacy, and as such are by that instrument holden to numerous feudal duties; but they are never recognized as paramount sovereignties, nor even as co-estates; So preposterous an idea never could arise in any other than the present ridiculous æra.

IN order to shew, more clearly, that the prevailing conceptions concerning the nature of the American Government are erroneous, it is necessary to advert to the causes which gave birth to its establishment.

IN the course of this examination, it will as I think, very clearly appear, that the men denominated Jacobins, are the real Fœderalists of the present day; and that the Constitutionalists, or friends to their country, and its Government, as at first established, are unwittingly playing into the hands of their enemies, by contributing to the perpetration of a delusion, under colour of which the Faction are advancing into the seats of power.

THE cabalistic denomination of this sect, as well as any set of principles, by which they may affect at seasons to be governed, ought not to obtain the serious currency which they have at all times done. It is of no consequence, under what mask an assassin approaches us so that we recognize him an



assassin: fair words, smooth pretensions, and hypocritical denominations, charm not the enmity of faction, and ought never to lull our apprehensions; or to divert our views from its invariable end. The Anti-Fœderalist of 1789, opposed the Government because he thought it conducive to the happiness of the country, and the Jacobin or soi-disant Republican of the present day, acts precisely on the same principles. In the eye of reflection, the characters are completely identified.

THE condition of the country from the treaty of peace in 1783, to the year 1787, presented so melancholy a succession of disasters, of every kind, as to produce an universal voice for a new Constitution. Under the Fœderal Government, the people saw their trade declining almost to non-entity; they saw all public confidence and all credit between man and man at an end, and they one and all despaired of any favourable change under so untoward a system. They saw their Confederation whol-

ly inadequate to the protection of its subjects, who were in great numbers

Taken by an insolent foe  
And sold to slavery without redemption thence.

While the fire of revolt and rebellion had burst the cobweb barrier which restrained it, and threatened to devastate the prostrate land. With one consent, it was resolved to abolish that system so fertile in miseries, whatever other might be substituted.

IN fixing on a substitute, it was very obvious that vast difficulties were to be encountered; by many they were feared even to be insurmountable.

THERE were to be conciliated, the greatest variety of jarring passions, principles and interests, that ever fell to the lot of men to encounter.

“It was obviously *impracticable*,” as the Convention who formed the Constitution, observe, “to secure all rights of *Independant Sovereignty* to each, and yet provide for

the interest and safety of all." Therefore, "in all our deliberations," continue they, "we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the *greatest interest* of every true American, the CONSOLIDATION of our Union, in which is involved our Prosperity, Felicity, Safety, perhaps our National Existence."

SUCH were the views which prevailed over the establishment of the Constitution of the United States. It was essentially and entirely an act of CONSOLIDATION, taking place of the act of Fœderation, which had died of inanition.

WHILE these, the only proper and legitimate conceptions of the nature of that Instrument, obtained, an uninterrupted tide of prosperity distinguished the public fortunes. Nor was it till that fatal breach was made in this barrier round the public weal, by which the States were made paramount Sovereignties, that faction ever attained that daring height which is almost instantly assu-

med. No longer was there wanting to the Jacobins a point of rallying, no longer had any one to exclaim with Archimedes,  $\Delta\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\varsigma\omega$  their indispensable passion for revolutionary movements, was confirmed on the most important basis, by this establishment of its practicability, and of the long desired *means* to their end.

WHILE there was but one Government in the country; while the States were regarded but as so many Lieutenancies, or subordinate divisions, suffered to exist in their ancient form, instead of being constituted counties, only from deference to prejudice; while, in fact, there was but one rallying point, and of course an unity of action, and an entirety of organization; the people revolted at the projects of revolutionizers, when they dared, which indeed was then seldom, to carry their views, openly, to that extent. But, no sooner, was the foundation of the Constitution subverted, and the Governments of the country multiplied to seventeen or eighteen, than Fac-



tion immediately laid its axe at the root of the Constitution of the United States, and employed all its efforts to bring about the substitution of the State Governments in its stead; in other words, to revive the old Confederation. This proposition is to be found in very distinct terms in the writings of several of the party, and particularly in a work published at the southward, called "The Prospect before us."

This end they hope and mean to obtain through the instrumentality of the Candidate whom they are seeking to exalt to the Chief Magistracy. His opinions on the subject are before the world. These have essentially varied at different times, according to the different currents of public sentiment, of which he hath ever been a most obsequious slave. At first, though he had thrown whatever influence he possessed into the scale of opposition to the New Constitution, he yet affected, in public, to be an admirer of that Instrument, to which he took no

other exception than at the omission to incorporate with it, a bill of rights.

BUT when we receive his opinion of the Constitution, through a medium exempt from this servile influence, we find it of a very different cast. When in the warmth of confidence, he writes of it what he thinks, we find him stigmatising that form, as the form of the odious Constitution of England. Its ties which he considers as Lilliputian "we" says he, "shall break."

It is become a question, then, whether the Constitution of the United States shall stand, or whether we will quietly behold it subverted, and the organized anarchy of Federalism substituted. This is the simple point of contest between the two parties. We have most foolishly put it at issue; and it is with God only to grant us "a good deliverance."

IF the preceding views be correct, it is obvious that the distinctive appellations of

the parties in this country are improper and absurd. It is true that mankind in all ages have been little influenced by reflection in this regard; having in many instances adopted cabalistic distinctions from accident and often from the most ludicrous whim. Yet I think it as well at least to wear a characteristic name as an unmeaning one, and better even an unmeaning one, than that which conveys a false meaning.

THE Fœderalists it is to be assumed, desire that the Constitution of the United States may exist in its original, integral state of supremacy; that it may be in all cases, the Supreme Law of the Land, unaffected by the clashing of Local Interests, and uncontrouled by the operations of subordinate powers. They are *Constitutionalists*, Americans, loyal to their country and to one another.

THE Democrats desire that the Constitution of the United States should be "dis-

annulled"—they desire that condition of things, in which the total absence of order, may give "passage free" to the personal violences of their malignant passions, and to their thirst for power and for gold. They would revive the Confederation, and are indisputably Fœderalists, without having Fœderalism or any other object really at heart, any further than as a means of aggrandisement, a step by which to ascend the height of power.

WHAT is *Fœderalism*? This is an enquiry peculiarly necessary, notwithstanding the term has been in so common use for so many years. It may be denominated *The State of Nature applied to Governments*; and this perhaps is the ground of preference with those who call themselves Republicans, as they are ever ready to exclaim, with the illegitimate villain of Shakespeare,

Thou, Nature, art our Goddess! to thy law  
Our services are bound.



BUT their Goddess of Nature is a New Deity and of the Modern Pantheon; and she resembles the image of a celebrated tyrant, in the remorseless cruelties and persecutions which she has inflicted on mankind, under the fair semblance of mildness and philanthropy.

*Fæderalism*, or the quality of attachment to a Fœderal form of Government, is surely the most trivial distinctive title of a party that was ever yet assumed: a man may be a Fœderalist and Royalist, a Fœderalist and Republican, or a Fœderalist and an enemy to either Royalty or Republicanism. There is no inconsistency in these characters, as has been exemplified in fact and experience. The consequence has been that the political adversaries of the men styling themselves Fœderalists, have robbed them of their distinctive appellation, and they now act without any name, as they have long done without any fixed or defined principles either of morals or politics: As the Cuckow creeps into the nest

of a certain foolish bird, and ejects it and its offspring.

IN the distinctive appellations of parties in every age, we discern some meaning, some connection, more or less remote, between the name and qualities of some certain kind. This is obviously necessary, to prevent the dilemma alluded to above. It will be said that Fœderalism denotes attachment to the Fœderal Government, meaning the government of this country, and that, reaching this end, it is sufficiently definite. The object to be defined, viz. attachment to the Government, is surely simple enough; but, if, in attempting to define a definite object, a term so indefinite is made use of, as to be liable not only to perversions but misconstructions, the simplicity of the object itself is rendered of no avail; it might as well have been complex and abstruse.

THE Constitutionalist denominates himself a Fœderalist, and pronounces the attri-

butes of Fœderalism to be these or those. The Republican as loudly proclaims himself a Fœderalist also, but his picture of the attributes of Fœderalism is diametrically the reverse of the other. So opposite are the representations and the views of these two Fœderalists, that the latter would (in the words of Mr. John Adams) incontinently "fine, imprison and hang his own brother" if a person of the former persuasion. The truth is, that the former, if he be a man of either sense or honesty, is not a Fœderalist. No man can be a real friend to the Government of the United States, and a Fœderalist, in the sense in which the term is applied.

To decide with more precision this question, it is worth while to attempt to attain a right understanding of the force and meaning of the term *Fœderal*, in its fullest extent. The unequivocal derivation of the term, goes far to decide every question of its signification, and Fœderation (a new root of the word, of American growth)

may be asserted to extend no farther than to denote a league or covenant. Now a league or covenant may take place, either between individuals or bodies politic. The account of the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, begins "*Fœdere ic̄to, trigemini arma capiunt,*" and Otway makes his hero declare himself the "*covenanted* foe of Venice." By construction, however, and by long usage, the application of the term Fœderation has been restricted, and it may be said at present to apply only to leagues or covenants between States. And as we have never known the term to be applied to denote leagues or covenants between separate or independant States, it must be further restricted to leagues or covenants or associations of different States forming one Nation.

Now a league, whether between separate Nations, or different States of the same Nation is a temporary arrangement for the purpose of meeting some great emergency.

such was the league of the Grecian States against Philip, such also was the league



of the American States against Great Britain. As long as the league, commonly called the Old Confederation lasted, the United States were a Federation. But their federalism merged in the Constitution of the United States.

FÆDERALISM, therefore, is a league between different States of the same Nation, (as England, Scotland and Ireland) for temporary purposes : it is the Interregnum of Governments not Monarchical : and it always implies the absence of settled Government.

I AM well aware that these uncontroversial truths will encounter vehement resistance from various classes of men. Those, who, ostentatious of their supposed political orthodoxy, carry their bawling Fœderalism not only into the market place, but actually to market, will with much zeal protest against these opinions, so fatal to the craft by which they have their wealth. Nor will there be wanting the acrimonious taunts

and jeers of those inclement spirits, who realizing these truths, dread from their prevalence the defeat of their projects and the downfall of their power.

BUT truth will march onwards in her career, however interested ignorance and malice may oppose. While it may be allowed us to speak, we will with loud voice proclaim those truths which we deem to be useful; nor will their tendency to conciliate the applause or provoke the ill-will of the malignant and venomous sectaries of blind and brutal violence be at all enquired into.

WHILE, yet there is life, and while yet living, we have hope, it shall be endeavoured by active exertions to prolong that life, by exciting that hope to energetic action. To the friends of Government, it seems time to apply every effort that may tend to rouse them, to a sense of those dangers which surround them, of those conspiracies which are unremittingly urged against their peace.

TOWARDS the remedy of an evil, towards defence against any danger, it is a potent advance, that we acquire a knowledge of its nature and extent. It is in this view that I have endeavoured to indicate what seem palpable to me, as the lines of direction which the Jacobin faction have already taken, in their progress towards their vast and destructive end.

HAVING sufficiently shewn, by induction, that the purpose of abolishing the Constitution of the United States, and of Fœderalizing the country, is contemplated by the Jeffersonian party, it is worth while to enquire into the consequences of a successful issue to their Fœderalizing project.

THE inseparable concomitant of the abolition of the present form of Government, is the annihilation of its debt, should it even survive, which is doubtful, the election of Mr. J. The distress, the horrors attendant on the overthrow of the public credit, what mind is so callous

to view with unconcern. Thus will your hearts, if they be made of penetrable stuff, be rent, with the sharp pangs of ancient gentlemen, a long train, worn down with sorrows and distresses, and decayed to a dependance on the pittance of their stake in the common fortune of the land—thus will your hearts, if not estranged from every touch of pity, bleed at the unutterable woes of widows and orphans, stripped of the hardly-saved relics of happier days, or the acquisitions of long and painful toil;—thus, if the emotions of humanity be not expunged from your system, if your attributes be not denaturalized, and all the milk of human kindness turned to corroding gall, thus will your most poignant emotions rise, at the sight of maimed veterans stripped of the scanty means that kept their honorable scars from mendicancy, perishing in starvation, or bearing their mouthed wounds to challenge pity of the pitiless. *Gefürn*, like Pappenheim,—they will say

Ille et nefasto nos posuit die,  
opprobrium pagi.



SUCH will be the dawn of the Sun of Fœderalism: the malignant splendours of its advance towards a meridian must fructify every inoculation and graft of evil, that can disgust the wise or distress the good.

THE Constitution overthrown, and the debt abrogated, the new organization, under the Fœderal Form, with perhaps so much of the French system engrafted thereon, as to provide some Consulates for the Chief and his Compeers, succeeds to that system under which we once had every the fairest chance of prosperity and happiness.

THE History of Fœderalism, through every age, is one continued record of wretchedness and affliction. Calculated only for those great emergencies during which, the minds of men are super-naturally strained to a sort of ardor bordering on fury, if it be continued after that fury has declined, and the nerves have relaxed into their natural state of organization, such continuance is unvaryingly followed by conse-

quences of the most deplorable and often fatal nature. Seldom, indeed, have Confederacies of States, upon a similar footing to ours, frequent as they have been, terminated so successfully as in our case. Strangers to any unity of action, their devoted members have often fallen the miserable prey of corruption, and cabal.

EVEN from the imperfect and indistinct accounts which have been transmitted us of the fortunes of the ancient Confederacies, we may gather a summary of wretchedness more voluminous than the annals of unmixed Governments through long ages. Instances unceasingly recur to our exasperated observation, of revolts, riots and massacres; of corruption, treasons and *speculations in Flour*, of the most atrocious nature. The rebellion of the members against the body is continually acted over again, and we observe nothing settled but the propensity to disturbance, nothing permanent but riot and ruin. At every step multiplied evidences crowd on us, of the

impossibility of either natural or civil equality; for the struggling equals are each incessantly aspiring to elevation, nor is any one ever content even with a benefit, unless it has had a larger share than the rest in producing it. The folly which induces men to reject the deductions of judgment from experience, here meets its destined expiation; the vanity of human nature here atones in misery, its weak and despicable passion; here it receives impressive lessons, written by the hand of violence in characters of blood.

THESE multiplied disorders and distresses of Fœderal Institutions, seem to have encountered sufficient good sense in their day, to have produced the repudiation of such projects. Through many ages Fœderalism was unknown. As the state of society changed from the stillness of more general dynasties to smaller divisions, and the migrations of whole nations altered by the influence of an altered soil and climate, formed various new nations, the subdivi-

sions gave rise to wars of civilization against civilization, and the common cause of opposition to barbarism, was sunk in subordinate hostilities. The confederacies of Germany, Switzerland, Holland and others of less importance, then arose. They arose, and more particularly the two last, in an exactly similar manner to that of the United States. The passion of mankind for change had burst forth in its full vigour, and from a state of subjection to one universal sovereignty, men seemed to have become only anxious to multiply new sovereignties and to found new nations. It was a change for the better in almost every respect; it was favourable to civilization, freedom and science. It was above all favourable to civil liberty, as it founded and confirmed a powerful balance, admirably fortified against the encroachments of violent ambition; a balance now effectually broken.

THE Confederacies of modern times, exhibit a picture still more deplorable than those of the ancients, because our opportu-



nities of observation being more immediate are more intimately employed. Here we observe in specification, those minutiae of misery which a remote transmission had excluded from our view. Here we observe fraud, violence and corruption *en gros et en detail*. In these vast Gymnasias, crowded with zealots infuriated to insanity, and with bigots infatuated to phrenzy, a continuous succession passes of every species of contention and strife that can annoy men's present repose, or cut off their hope of future comfort. Nor are these the worst aspects of confederate forms. Venality, and of course corruption, appear here to have reigned in full vigour. Not only individuals, but whole bodies have been bought and sold, with a profligacy unparalleled in other history. A low and deadly jealousy perpetually urges to multiplied embarrassments, and cuts off every shadow of harmony, while ambition inflates every evil propensity to the utmost pitch of malice. Hence faction tears unceasingly, the quivering limbs of the victim, and it knows no inter-

vals of repose from either present misery, or certain apprehension. A struggle for predominance generally commences at an early period, between the different members, and this struggle never fails to display all the worst passions of human nature in their worst forms. These struggles terminate in the preponderance of some one State, more fortunate than the rest, and they must be content to submit, in a condition bordering on servility, to its imperious mandates: as in the instance of Berne in the Swiss Cantons, and of Holland in the Seven Provinces.

So abhorrent is equality to every impulse of human nature, that men are not only found restive under the application of this principle to them as individuals, but still more so in their political relations. Providence hath wisely ordained a chain of grades and subordinacies, from the peasant to the peer, from the monarch to the collected majesty of all monarchs. It is the frequent office of philosophical arrogance to attempt

the disarrangement of this beautiful system, by interposing the stumbling-blocks and the foolishness of infidelity, and the vile conceptions of mortal vanity. To the voice of philosophers, men have delighted more to listen than to the voice of that wisdom which is from on high: but as they have delighted to drink at the polluted streams of Sophistry rather than at the pure fountains of life, they have drank deep damnation to themselves and their posterity: as they have swerved from those maxims by which society had been wont to be held together—sanctified in their origin, and embalmed in every heart by their beneficent effects, men have unvaryingly fallen off to that state in which the remembrance of refinement and the influence of system exist but in projects for denaturalizing mankind, and burying every wonted regulation of society under a mass of chaotic jargon.

GOVERNMENT is an entire thing: it is a system of influence, penetrating the obscurity of modest virtue, and the den of the

the lurking conspirator,—encouraging and cheering, and praising and rewarding and promoting and blessing whatsoever things of goodness and of fair report come in contact with it; and stamping its seal of reprobation or of excommunication upon every nascent principle of evil. A well ordered State is a flourishing Oak—the Constitution is its Trunk—its various ministers are the ramifications—each forming after its capacity, a proper conduit, through which circulates the bounteous stream of the parent trunk, to the leaves and foliages; which like the diversified actors on the great theatre of life are perpetually coming on and going off, while the mutual dependance is admirably subserved by the superior permanency of the intermediate branches. The leaves periodically wither—but the trunk and its branches survive in unimpaired vigour and glory: the hand of violence may prune it of its branches—the dependant leaves then perish by the stroke; yet the Tree is still a Tree: but the blow which levels the trunk annihilates the whole together.



THE venerable parent Trunk, every half-lunatic quack and subaltern juggler, thinks he may now subject to his delirious incantations. No unhappy metal hath been ever more tortured with fire, or the violence of iron, by crack-brained Chemists, hunting the Philosopher's Stone, than has the Constitution of almost every State, by the Talgols, Sidrophels and Wackums of the present age. They keep in the centre of the country, a vast Cauldron, which momentarily receives supplies from a thousand contributory spells, in which are brewed together every possible ingredient of annoyance and mischief. When the charm is firm and good, it is their way to fouse the unhappy victim into the fatal vortex. It expires in their hands, and in the act of bubbling over the dragons' scales, and wolves' teeth, and fenny snakes, and tygers' chaudrons, and adders' forks, and blind worms' stings, which now with

Double, double toil and trouble  
Out of cauldron boil and bubble.

With infuriate and idiotic air, another description of beings exhibit an instrument with which they are desirous to divide the trunk into a multitude of equal parts, in order that it may the better accomodate their passion for variety by growing in new, various and excentric forms; and to gratify this propensity to change and novelty, are very content to risk its life.

It is time, in the idea of Burke, to *consecrate* the State. It is time to bestow on it whatever degree of venerability and sanctity it is capable of receiving, that the hand of innovation may be cast into the fire, as the hand of sacrilege and patricide. We have sailed round the world of novelty without making any discovery worth retaining, except that our discoveries are worthless. We have touched on island after island, we have discovered new rocks, new quicksands and new shoals, but we have discovered no new continent—we are yet afloat on a wide and procellose ocean. In a tone of much earnest-

ness, and very serious anxiety, I would repeat the interrogation and exhortation of Horace

O Navis, referent in mare te novi  
Fluctus? ô quid agis? fortiter occupa  
Portum.

It is indeed time to haul up the vessel, and to repair the ravages of tempests and whirlwinds; to secure a competent rudder, to repair the sails, and even the keel; instead of painting and patching over her defects, by arts which cannot content the wary, who confide nothing in gilded baubles.

POSTERITY will scarce believe, that with so many fatal examples before their eyes, and after the bloody tragedy of Fœderalism acted in France, under their immediate observation, a race of men could have been found, sufficiently stupid and sufficiently infatuated, to wish for a repetition of the project Yet such is the fact, and that man must be blind as ignorance itself, who does not perceive an intention to revive the system of Confederation, in the opinions and practices of the Democrats.

It is this intention, evidently tantamount to an entire revolution, that the preceding pages are designed to expose, and if possible to defeat.

